1: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SHS Tehuelche SH5



or perhaps, as D'Orbigny appears to have believed (1835–47, 2: 100), from the *Puelche*. Its introduction was accompanied and followed by very great changes in general *Tehuelche* culture (Cooper, 1925, pp. 408–409, details), including the addition of horse meat to the diet.

**Hunting.**—The early *Tehuelche* used tame *young guanacos* as decoys in hunting guanacos (Pigafetta, 1906, 1: 59; Mori, [1535], 1899, p. 320), and rhea plumage as head and body camouflage to approach within killing distance of rheas. Fletcher (1854, pp. 41–42) reported the use of nets in rhea hunting. Later *Tehuelche* hunters commonly scattered, circled, and closed in to hunt the guanaco and the rhea (pl. 40, *top*); in the drive, pumas were often caught in the circle and killed (pl. 40, *bottom*). The dogs were of great aid in hunting. Our sources mention no snares or deadfalls as used for any animals. (For details on hunting, cf. Schmid, 1900, pp. 363–364, 366, and Outes, 1926 d.)

**Food preparation and storage.**—Jerked guanaco meat, dried or smoked and pounded, was mixed with rhea or other grease to make pemmican, which was stored for use in winter or in stormy weather (Coan, 1890, p. 84). Fat, marrow, and internal organs of guanaco, such as livers, lungs, kidneys, and hearts, were commonly eaten raw; otherwise food was roasted or baked—later boiled in iron pots. Meat was often eaten only slightly roasted. Heated stones were put in split rhea, young guanaco, armadillo, and skunk carcasses, and the carcasses were then sewn up and placed on the fire to roast (Coan, 1890, p. 111; Moreno, 1879, p. 254). One end of the rhea egg was punctured, a little of the white taken out, and the egg set vertically on a slow fire to cook (Moreno, 1879, p. 259). Salt was mixed with blood, or used for seasoning meat. The blood of freshly killed guanaco was drunk raw (Coan, 1890, p. 119; Bourne, 1893, p. 71). A nonfermented drink was made of barberry juice. Maté, of later introduction, was very popular.

As food receptacles and eating utensils were used: Valves of mollusks as drinking cups, and, in one early instance (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41) "skin," as among the *Ona* (p. 113); in later times, wooden plates and platters, bladders as water containers, wooden or horn spoons, and armadillo shells as broth platters. There were no stated mealtimes. The *Tehuelche* avoided gluttonous eating.

### CAMPS AND DWELLINGS

Permanent villages were lacking. Some use was made of caves as dwellings in parts of prehistoric Patagonia, perhaps by *Tehuelche*. A skin windbreak very like the modern *Ona* one (p. 119) was apparently used by some of the early *Tehuelche* (Oviedo, 1851–55, 2: 41, and illus. 1, fig. 1; cf. Ledrillero, 1880, p. 490, and Cooper, 1925, pp.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5



262 cookery and diet of the Tehuelches, which is necessarily almost confined to meat, which, however, they *do not* devour raw, as so constantly asserted. Fat is largely consumed, both fresh and preserved; the need of this being, as before said, attributable to the want of farinaceous food. Still they are very fond of all sorts of wild fruits and vegetables, when procurable; and besides the indigenous tuberous roots, and the ever-present dandelion plants, which the girls gather for their friends and relations, and which are eaten in a crude state, they will when in the settlements barter their wares for potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables. They are also
[252] extremely fond of biscuit and flour, which they mix with water into dampers, and bake them in the ashes. Previous to my sojourn amongst them, pepper was, I believe, unknown, but having a small store in my possession, I induced old Orkeke and his dame to try it, and they and others soon acquired a taste for it. Sugar, or anything sweet, they are
• 263 especially fond of. Salt is a very necessary commodity with them, and when passing one of the numerous salinas that occur in the country the stores are replenished. It sometimes happens, however, if making a long stay in one place, or travelling in parts where salinas are scarce, they
[64] have to go without it; and this is probably the cause of a skin disease that at times occurs amongst them. Salt is carried as a rule by the men when hunting, both to mix with the blood, which is seldom eaten without it, and to season the guanaco or ostrich meat.

261 I think that as a rule the Indians, far from being glutton-
264 ous gormandizers, eat less than civilised people. They never eat at stated times, but when their appetite warns them; and on this point an Indian once made the remark to me: 'The Chilians eat at regular hours, which is foolish; we don't eat unless we are hungry.' I believe that I, as a single individual, generally consumed more victuals than any Indian, with the exception of my friend Cayuke, who was certainly
[257] a great gormand. He was also a great smoker; and when

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5



We were soon out of sight of the encampment at Trinita, and proceeding at either a gallop or a trot through an undulating country, in which incense, algarroba, and other shrubs abounded, arrived near sunset at a stream, on the north side of which we encamped, amongst some thick bushes. A little distance to the west lay a large salina, from which, several miles across, the place takes its name, being called Hitchin-kaik, or Salt Hill. The stream flows round one side of the salina, and is, I think, the same that we subsequently crossed near Valchita. This time we travelled in great style, the women having brought with them stores of horse-meat and yerba.

After dinner we all sat round the fire and took a maté, and some of an Indian sweetmeat, a yellow paste made from the algarroba bean pounded and mixed with water. Old Patricio, who had turned over a new leaf, and grown quite frisky after the drink, said that I was a fortunate man, having a wife with me; alluding to one of the wives of the cacique El Inglez, who was travelling with us to rejoin her husband near Patagones.

The following morning at daylight we again started, and travelling over much the same description of country as on the previous day, arrived about midday at the place where Teodoro had left his cattle. Here we dismounted and refreshed ourselves off the round berries about the size of a turnip-radish, the fruit of a small plant growing by the margin of the water, which had a very pleasant taste. The river here had a fringe of tussocks of pampa grass, under which we reclined and smoked.

The cattle were grouped about amongst these tussocks, and Gulwin, Jackechan's son with the light hair, amused himself by vain attempts to count them. After half an hour's dawdling we proceeded, leaving behind one of Meña's horses which was done up, and, following more or less the line of the river, we arrived, about three P.M., at the encampment of Valchita. As it was early in the day, some of the party

3: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1872
SH5 Tehuelche SH5



horse they can catch; whilst the girls play at making miniature toldos, and sitting in them. 857

The Indians evince great affection for their children, indulging them in every way, and never chastising them for freaks or acts of mischief. They are inveterate gamblers, manufacturing their own cards out of hide, and will sometimes remain two or three days without food, as it is unlucky to eat whilst playing, absorbed in games of chance, on which they stake all their possessions. The men, also, when opportunity offers, race their horses, winning and losing heavy stakes on the result; but I am bound to say that foul play is unknown, and all debts of honour are scrupulously paid on the spot. They also play a game with stones resembling the "knucklebones" of English school-boys, and a game of ball, played by eight players, four on each side, within a ring marked by a lazo laid on the ground: two balls are used, made of hide stuffed with feathers; the player throws the ball up from under the thigh, and strikes it with his hand at the adversary, each hit counting a point. 861 525 524 526

They are dependent for food almost entirely on the chase; the statements that they eat raw meat have probably arisen from their custom of sometimes eating the heart, marrow, liver, blood, and kidneys, raw. The meat is invariably cooked, that of the ostrich being preferred. The most usual method of cooking on the hunting ground is to prepare the bird so as to form a bag, enclosing the meat with hot stones, which is placed on the embers, the broth being thus retained. In camps, they also roast the meat on spits, or sometimes boil it. The iron pots are, however, more generally used for frying out the grease or marrow. Their occasional vegetable diet consists of the roots of a species of wild potato, found, however, only in a few localities, a description of spinach, and a few other plants, when procurable. They also eat the leaves of the dandelion, which is frequently met with in the grassy valleys; and wild currants, strawberries, apples, and piñones, when in the parts where they abound. In fact, they readily eat any fruit or vegetable products obtainable; and are great consumers of salt, obtained in sufficient quantity from various salinas. They occasionally chew a species of gum which exudes from the inconsebush; this, however, is intended as a dentrifice. Intercourse with settlements has taught the Tehuelches the uses of tobacco, sugar, yerba, and rum; none of which, however, are looked upon as indispensable, with the exception of tobacco, which is always prepared for smoking by a mixture of chips of wood: many of them, however, neither smoke nor drink. 262 252 262 [[3]] [243] 273 276 177

On the birth of a child, if the parents are rich, i.e., own plenty of mares, horses, and silver ornaments, notice is immediately 852

5: Bourne T-5 (1849)1874
SH5 Tehuelche SH5



old Paron ver and enlist his authority for me, if circum stances should compel me to appeal to it.

The reunited tribe remained in camp three or four days dividing their time between gambling and hunting. When I accompanied the hunters, as I sometimes did, I was sure to get something to eat towards night, as they invariably kindled a fire and cooked part of the game on the spot where it was killed. Their method of preparing all meats was essentially the same as has been described; tossing large pieces into the fire, or suspending them over it, till they were somewhat smoked and dried, and then devouring them, without salt, or any other condiment but the sauce of hunger. Cooking the ostrich, however, forms an exception: the feathers are plucked out, the bones dissected and removed; hot stones are placed within the body, the skin is tightly sewed together, and the whole is partially roasted on the embers. The lacings are then cut, and the meat is served up; it has an excellent flavor, far surpassing that of the domestic turkey. The bird is covered with a layer of fat, half an inch thick, which is melted, and collects in the body, forming a condiment which is relished as the greatest luxury of Patagonian living. If any fragments of the repast remain, they are slung to the backs of the saddles, and so carried home, dangling at the horses' sides, till they are so begrimed with dust as to defy all conjecture as to their quality or origin. These choice morsels are proffered to the home department, are received with smiles of gratitude, and devoured with a gust sharpened by long abstinence. It was noticeable that the plumage of the ostrich, though beautiful, was not at all valued by the Indians; large